

Democrats and Republicans Thumb Their Noses at the Poor and Aged

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Federal Moves Fail to Stem Mississippi Racist Violence



Photo by Bob Flécher

MISSISSIPPI COPS IN ACTION. Greenville, Miss., cop drags voter-registration worker from peaceful picket line last summer while Justice Department representatives stood on sidelines and took notes.

OCT. 7 — Racist violence against Negroes in Mississippi continues in the absence of adequate law enforcement — local or federal. Despite indictment of some police officials of Philadelphia, Miss., scene of this summer's slaying of the three civil-rights workers, on federal charges carrying a maximum penalty of ten years, and despite the arrest of some bombers in McComb, racist terrorists in Meridian Oct. 3 shot at civil-rights workers sleeping in a Negro home. The next day a church in Vicksburg, which had been used by voter-registration workers, was bombed.

In McComb, where there have been months of wholesale bombings, church-burnings and attacks on Negroes, federal authorities have been forced to take steps against the wave of terror. Seven more white men were arrested Oct. 5 for illegal use of explosives, bringing the total to eleven.

In a gravel pit near the home of one, was an arms cache of hand grenades, bombs, explosive powder, carbines, ammunition and blackjacks. The evidence will be turned over to a local grand jury.

OCT. 5 — After the bombing of homes of 20 Negro families and the burning of ten Negro churches in

and around McComb, Mississippi, the FBI, state police and Pike County sheriff's office finally made a move by arresting four local white men on charges of illegal use of explosives.

A search of the auto and home of one of those arrested revealed an arsenal of high-powered rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition, wooden clubs of various length, blackjacks, brass knuckles, hoods and membership cards in the Ku Klux Klan and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race.

All four were charged with the bombing of Mrs. Alynene Quin's home. Mrs. Quin went to Washington, D.C., along with two other local women whose homes had been bombed, to demand federal protection for Negroes in McComb against the continual bombings and the white-supremacist reign of terror. On Sept. 23, the night before the women succeeded in seeing President Johnson, two more Negro homes in McComb were bombed.

McComb police had tried to discredit Mrs. Quin and the civil-rights movement and to cover up for the real bombers by claiming the bombings were a put-up job to obtain publicity for the civil-

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Congress Shows Its Contempt For America's Needy by Killing Medicare and Appalachia Bills

By Marvel Scholl

With the contemptuous cynicism only professional capitalist politicians are capable of, the 88th Congress adjourned Oct. 3 without acting on two measures before it of vital importance to millions of Americans. One was the bill extending the Social Security law to include Medicare (medical care) for the aged and to grant a small increase in pensions; the other was to provide funds required to carry out the already-passed Appalachian Aid bill.

The impatient congressmen found enough time, however, to rush through a \$3.25 billion for-

eign-aid bill. U.S. "foreign aid" is overwhelmingly military aid given for cold-war purposes.

At his Oct. 3 news conference after the adjournment of Congress, President Johnson had distributed a prepared statement praising the "hard painstaking work" of the 88th Congress in the most laudatory language. There was not a single word of reproach or criticism of the just-ended Congress in Johnson's whole statement.

In the question-period part of the news conference, however, a reporter asked for comment on Congress' failure to act on the Medicare - and - pension - increase

bill. Johnson then expressed "regret" that the congressmen on the key committee had blocked the bill.

The victims of this Congressional callousness are the 20 million people on Social Security. This tenth of the nation is the most subject to sickness and the least able to afford high medical and hospital costs. While retired people had high hopes of Medicare's passage, they felt virtually certain of getting the small increase — five per cent — in their inadequate pensions since both Houses of Congress had separately already approved the increase. But Congress' failure to pass it in a joint House-Senate bill sent the pension increase, as well as Medicare, down the drain.

No reporter bothered to ask about Congress' failure to pass the Appalachia appropriation and Johnson didn't mention it, either in his remarks or prepared statement praising Congress. The victims in this instance are the millions of people, mostly in Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, but also in the coal-bearing mountain regions of adjacent states, who are ravaged by unemployment and the reduction of

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GM Workers Out to Settle Long-Standing Grievances

By William Bundy

OCT. 6 — As the first national strike by the United Auto Workers against General Motors since 1945-46 went into its second week, an agreement on the national contract was announced, but the strike continued pending attempts to settle local grievances.

The terms of the Oct. 5 national agreement involve substantially the same wage and fringe package negotiated earlier at Chrysler and Ford, plus some modest gains on working conditions. Among these is an increase in the time allowed certain union committeemen for processing grievances inside the plant. The union, however, did not obtain the right to full-time union committeemen at GM, the only auto company without them.

All reports agree that GM was willing to settle for the Chrysler pattern on the "economic package" before the strike was called, but resisted union demands for broad improvements in working conditions. These demands, however, were not being presented very seriously by UAW President Walter Reuther, and the fact that a strike was called surprised most observers.

For example, the Oct. 5 *Wall Street Journal*, in an article entitled "Surprise Strike," observed that Detroit bookmakers had offered odds of three-to-one against a strike at GM.

The *Journal* continued: "A high union officer told a top company bargainer just hours before the strike deadline that the UAW was prepared to accept GM's final offer — then the deal was called off less than an hour before the deadline. UAW leaders apparently were unable to sell the tentative settlement terms to the union's bargaining committee. Officials of UAW locals, who dominate the union's GM negotiating committee, evidently felt the proposed settlement fell far short of meeting the members' demands on touchy issues relating to working conditions — and that acceptance of such a pact would doom the chances of many local UAW officials in the union's biennial elections next June."

One factor in this reported change of Reuther's plans is said to have been the fact that workers at the Fisher Body plant in Cleveland, members of influential Local 45, had started a "wildcat"



Walter Reuther

strike Sept. 24, the night before the GM strike deadline mentioned above. In addition, a "wildcat" strike had begun at the same time at three Cleveland Ford plants, sparked by local issues and the summary suspension of a Local 1250 committeeman.

The Cleveland Ford strike was denounced by Reuther and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey as "sabotage" since they had insisted Ford locals not strike over local issues until after a GM settlement. The strike was called off after several days by Local 1250 officials despite the fact that the membership had voted in a meeting Sept. 28 to continue the strike in defiance of both Reuther and an injunction obtained by the company.

Workers in other Cleveland UAW plants, though apathetic regarding this year's negotiations, were reported "elated" when GM was struck. Across the country, GM workers at most production plants took up picket duties with "enthusiasm and high spirits," according to the *Associated Press*. Local grievances, particularly regarding speed-up, are a major problem at such plants. For example, at the GM assembly plant in South Gate, Calif., over 300

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Open Socialist Drive to Raise \$18,000 Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

On Sept. 15 the Socialist Workers Party launched a fund drive to raise a minimum of \$18,000 by Dec. 15. We ask all socialists, friends and sympathizers to help us realize this goal by sending their contributions as soon as possible.

It goes without saying that this money is vitally needed to carry on both our day-in-and-day-out fight to bring socialism to this country and the current national presidential campaign. We do not have the sources from which to raise a big, special election fund so we have to have the courage to attempt it within the framework of our regular budget.

Our members and friends are almost entirely working people, themselves living on inadequate incomes. No "angels" have come forward to make possible for our standard-bearers such a trek as Lady Bird Johnson is now embarking on — a six state whistlestop tour of Dixie — in her own "Lady Bird Special" . . . equipped with air-conditioning, piped-in music, red leather desks, and a private bath with shower.

The SWP Presidential candidates, Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, are not traveling in style with an entourage of "15 hostesses . . . personal staff, 100 members of the press . . . and three masters of ceremony."

In fact, both DeBerry and Shaw are getting about the country by air-coach, train, and bus. Their wardrobes are on their backs,

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N.J. Socialist Nominee Flays Politicians on 'Backlash' Issue

NEWARK — A DeBerry-Shaw-Stewart campaign headquarters has been opened at 471 Clinton Ave. here. It is open evenings from 8 to 10 and welcomes all those who want to help in the campaign or who want information about the program and candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

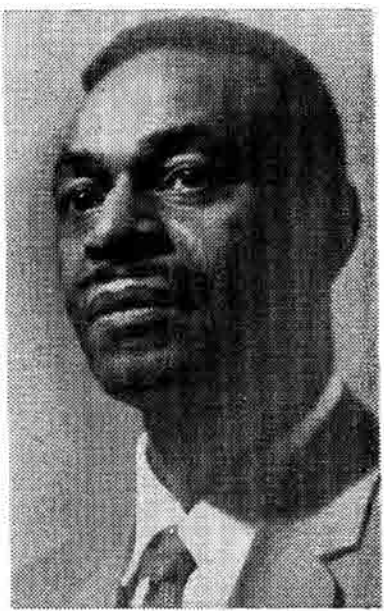
Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw are the SWP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates; Lawrence Stewart is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey. All will appear on the New Jersey ballot.

Stewart's campaigning includes speaking before audiences in churches and at fraternal organizations as well as over the radio.

In a Sept. 20 speech to the Militant Labor Forum in Newark, giving his views on the so-called white backlash, he said:

"There is still a determination in this country to hold down the black population in a state of second-class citizenship. This determination has become stronger since the revolt by Afro-Americans against the state of affairs which has gone on for 100 years.

"The news media and politicians say there is a mounting reaction from whites to the militant demonstrations of this black revolt. Ac-



Lee Forest

Lawrence Stewart

cording to these sources, which incidentally control the 'public opinion' they are talking about, the sentiment of the white population is reaching the boiling point at Negroes' alleged disruption of 'law and order.'

"President Johnson himself, echoing Barry Goldwater, lends his voice to the cry for 'law and order,' meaning thereby law and order in the streets of Northern cities, not in Mississippi.

"Those who shout 'white backlash' the loudest, including so-called Negro leaders, are trying to frighten black people and make them damp down their fervent demands for freedom and justice. The cry of 'white backlash' signifies the movement of phony liberals over to the side of the bigots where they really belong.

"The attitude towards the so-called white backlash will serve to separate phony liberals and Negro misleaders from genuine white supporters of the Negro struggle and honest black leadership. Such people will not try to restrain Negro militancy but will support it. And they will seek an alternative to the political power structure which condemns a tenth of the population to degradation because of color.

"An alternative on the November ballot is the Socialist Workers Party whose candidates call for building a labor party and also give support to a Freedom Now Party for black Americans."

N.Y. Debate to Include A Negro Goldwaterite

NEW YORK — The sparks of controversy are expected to fly at the Militant Labor Forum symposium where a Negro supporter of Goldwater will confront a Back-to-Africa spokesman and a revolutionary socialist. The symposium will be held Friday evening, Oct. 16, at 116 University Place.

The symposium is entitled: "Is America a Black's Man's Country?"

The panelists are:

Robert Vernon, who has written extensively for *The Militant* on the developments in America's black ghettos and analyzed the progressive significance of the emergence of black nationalism. He will argue that the establishment of socialism is necessary to make the U.S. a black man's country.

Alex Premepeh, Vice President of the African Nationals Council in America, says the U.S. is not the black man's country today and that he should return to Africa. He believes that if socialism were to be achieved here it might become the black man's country.

Myrna Baines, a contributor to the right-wing publication, *National Review*, believes the problems of the Negro in this country can be rectified through the election of Goldwater.

Order SWP On Ballot in Wisconsin

OCT. 7 — The Wisconsin Supreme Court yesterday ordered that the names of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw be placed on the state ballot. Wisconsin Secretary of State Robert Zimmerman had sought to bar the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket from the ballot on a crudely improvised technicality.

The SWP had filed 3,800 nominating petitions as against a required minimum of 1,000. Zimmerman rejected the petitions with the unprecedented assertion that 1,000 signatures, on separate petitions, was required for each of the 12 presidential electors. The SWP has been on the Wisconsin ballot in each presidential election since 1948 and no such requirement has ever been made. Nor was there any notification this time of any change in the nominating procedure.

The Socialist Workers Party was represented before the Supreme Court by Dominic Frinzi, prominent criminal attorney.

In addition to DeBerry and Shaw, the SWP slate in Wisconsin includes Wayne Leverenz for U.S. Senator. His nominating petitions had been accepted without challenge when the secretary of state apparently found he couldn't cook up any pretext for rejecting it.

Another Socialist Workers nominee — Albert Sterger for Congress in the Fifth District — was ruled off the ballot on the flimsy technicality that his certificate of acceptance of the nomination was not filed by the required deadline.

Johnson Cleanses His Vocabulary

When a Southern politician aspires to become a national "statesman" he has to drop his customary use of insulting racial epithets and adopt more polite language. That, is he has to do so before audience, reporters and people who might quote him to newspapers. He can, and usually does, relapse into his "natural" vocabulary in the company of friends, at the Senate cloakroom, in executive sessions of committees and other safe places.

Just when Lyndon B. Johnson stopped using the insulting term "nigger" openly isn't yet clear. Probably when he decided to make a serious try for his party's presidential nomination. At any rate it wasn't before August of 1956.

For the Aug. 15, 1956 issue of the *New York Post* carried a column by Murray Kempton containing the following about the then Senator from Texas and Democratic Majority Leader.

"Lyndon Johnson went to see the President of the U.S. on Sunday. He told some friends when he came back that he had run into Richard Nixon and that he had asked Nixon whether the Republicans proposed to 'nigger it' at their convention next week. He said that Nixon smiled and said, go ahead and write your (civil-rights) plank, and we'll raise it."

The rule applies to both ends of a Southern or border-state politician's career. On one of his early morning walks during a visit to New York in September 1963, ex-President Truman turned to a reporter querying him about civil-rights demonstrations and asked: "How would you like your daughter to marry a 'nigger'?" The wire services changed the word but some Negro papers printed it and a Harlem radio station broadcast the taped interview. The man from Missouri's choice of words was unmistakably the same as that of the Senator from Texas.



The Florida East Coast Railway (FEC), which has been struck since Jan. 23, 1963 and has been operating with scabs, has sent a letter to all the strikers as well as the scabs offering rewards to informers willing to give information "leading to convictions for sabotage of FEC property." Although in its public propaganda, the company has been claiming 250 acts of sabotage, the letter included a list of only 54 "incidents" which "we feel are violations of the federal and state laws."

Four FEC unionists were sentenced to federal prison terms of up to 15 years Aug. 14 after being convicted of attempting to dynamite an FEC train last March. Their case is being appealed. No one has been injured in the several train wrecks on the line since the company started using scabs. The key prosecution witness against the unionists was Floyd Becker, a three-times-convicted burglar and paid FBI informer. The dispute is the longest active railroad strike in over 40 years. It began when the company refused to grant a wage increase agreed to by other railroads.

The United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, has adopted a collective-bargaining program calling for lifetime or "total job security" and rejecting in principle the "economic guidelines" for wage increases laid down by the Johnson administration.

The "guidelines" would permit wage and benefit increases of only 3.2 per cent per year. The union pointed out, however, that the steel industry's production rate during 1964 was up 12.1 per cent from 1963 and net profits were up 13.9 per cent. Yet employment was up only 2.6 per cent.

This stand on the "guidelines" question, however, doesn't mean that the union leadership will necessarily go for a big wage increase this year. In addition, the convention resolution on collective bargaining is vague on just how "total job security" is to be achieved.

Jean Marchand, president of the Canadian Confederation of National Trade Unions, opened the 41st annual meeting of the organization with an attack against the philosophy of trade unionism followed by most U.S. union leaders. "Unionism isn't a business," he declared, "it must live for the support and confidence of the workers and it should earn it."

"The workers don't exist for the unions, the unions exist to protect the workers," he continued. "The CNTU wants the Canadian union movement to be controlled in Canada and not in the United States."

The CNTU, most of whose 120,000 members are in the French-speaking Province of Quebec is not to be confused with the Canadian Labor Congress, most of whose members belong to unions affiliated with AFL-CIO "internationals" whose headquarters are in the U.S. The CNTU has been growing rapidly since 1960, when it had only 94,000 members.

Several strikes, "unauthorized" by the union leadership, took place at John Deere & Co. farm-equipment plants in the Midwest before the company signed a contract with the United Auto Workers similar to that recently negotiated between the UAW and the Chrysler Corp. The contract covers 17,300 workers at eight Deere plants.

The "fringe" benefit now accounts for an average of 69 cents per hour per employee in U.S. industry, according to a study by

David McDonald
Steelworkers President

the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. That is, companies claim they pay that much out in pension funding, vacations, sick leave, medical plans, etc. Social Security taxes and unemployment-compensation taxes are also counted as "fringe" payments in this study. The Chamber claims the total cost per employee in 1963 averaged \$1,431.

The amount of fringe varies — depending on the company and the industry — from a low of seven per cent of wages to a high of 70 per cent, according to the Chamber of Commerce.

High fringe payments are a factor in the tendency to increased overtime. The fact that fringe payments are usually not made on overtime hours, makes time-and-one-half for overtime less expensive than would appear at first glance.

The United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, in New York City donated \$10,000 to the Mississippi Freedom School project this summer. But most of this money had to be spent on security arrangements against racist harassment of teachers and students who participated in the 20 schools across the state. Expenses included such things as \$1,800 per month for a special telephone hook-up for a nightly check to make sure no one was missing. In addition, cars with Mississippi plates had to be rented at high rates since teachers using their own cars with out-of-state plates were constantly subject to attack.

... Socialist Fund

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their luggage — one suitcase each! In four cities they either stay at the homes of friends or in inexpensive hotels.

However, each of these young socialists has one piece of valuable "baggage" not to be found on the Lady Bird Special or any other capitalist election equipage — a program designed to make this world a better place to live in, a program based on truth, not empty campaign promises.

But even a powerful program remains only a scrap of paper unless it can be spread far and wide, unless it can reach the people it is written for — the working class, the valiant Negro freedom fighters, the newly awakening youth, and the working farmers. The SWP carries on the work of spreading this program every day of the year. And that takes money.

Cast your vote for socialism before Nov. 3 by making a contribution now to the Socialist Campaign Fund, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON
THE BLACK REVOLT IN AMERICA. Speaker, James Shabazz, associate of Malcolm X. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., rm. 307. Contrib. 75c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: THE HISTORY OF A "LESSER EVIL." Speaker, Robert Stewart. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES
Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Oct. 13, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Oct. 14, 9 a.m.) KPFC-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS
THE 1964 ELECTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LEFT. Speaker, John Chelstrom. Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

CLIFTON DeBERRY, SWP Presidential candidate speaks on The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights. Wednesday, Oct. 21, 8:30 p.m.

HEAR CLIFTON DeBERRY ON RADIO, Tues., Oct. 20, 8:30 p.m. Open Mike program, WCCO (830 on the dial).

NEW YORK
DEBATE: IS AMERICA THE BLACK MAN'S COUNTRY? Panelists: Myrna Baines, contributor to National Review and Goldwater supporter; Alex Premepeh, vice president, African Nationals Council in America, Inc.; Robert Vernon, contributor to The Militant; Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO
CLIFTON DeBERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, speaks on The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. California Hall, 625 Polk, rm. 302. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

OCT. 23, hear STEVE ROBERTS, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

WEST COAST
WEST COAST CONFERENCE ON INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION. Talks and panels on: History of Independent Political Movements, Problems of the U.S. Economy, Threat of the Ultra-Right, Political Action and Labor, Political Action and the Negro Revolution, Political Action and Foreign Policy, etc. Saturday, Oct. 17, all day. At University of California, Berkeley. For information and accommodations contact: Committee for Independent Political Action, 2333 Fulton St., Berkeley, Calif. TH 8-8685.

Midwest Student Political Conference Will Be Held in Detroit October 24-25

Students throughout the Midwest are making plans to participate in the Midwest Student Conference on Independent Political Action to be held in Detroit over the Oct. 24-25 weekend. The conference is being sponsored by the Wayne State University Youth Committee for DeBerry and Shaw.

James Shabazz, national assistant to Malcolm X and a spokesman for the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will speak on "Twentieth Century Slaves," an analysis of the present conditions of the American Negroes and an historical survey of how these conditions developed.

A panel on "The Negro Struggle and Political Action" will feature a discussion by Negro candidates on the question of Negro political action. Speakers will be Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; Milton Henry, Freedom Now Party candidate in Michigan's First Congressional District; John Conyers, Democratic Party candidate in the same district; and Jackie Vaughn III, candidate for Detroit Common Council.

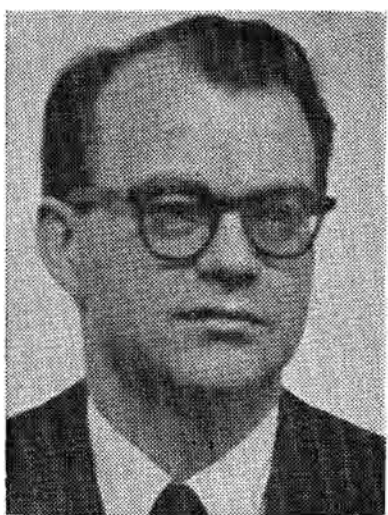
Evelyn Sell, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan, will open the conference with a talk on "How Minority Parties Have Changed American History."

"How to Fight the Ultra-Right" will be Edward Shaw's topic. Shaw is the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. This will be an examination of the rightward trend in American politics, its relation to fascism, and methods of combatting it.

DeBerry and Shaw will also speak at an election rally, along with Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Freedom Now Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, and James Shabazz, on Saturday night, Oct. 24. This rally is being organized independently of the conference and will be held at the Central Congregational Church at Linwood and Hogarth.

The conference will wind up with a talk by Barry Sheppard, National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, on "How This Generation Will Change Society."

The conference will be held at



Edward Shaw

the Helen DeRoy Auditorium at the Wayne State University. Housing is being arranged for students coming into Detroit. For more information write to Marilyn Levin, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, phone: TE 1-6135 or 832-2173.

On Oct. 17 there will be a West Coast Conference on Independent Political Action, held near the Berkeley campus. Clifton DeBerry will participate in a panel on "Political Roads for the Negro Struggle" along with Willie Brown, Democratic candidate for California Assembly, Howard Jetter, Democratic Peace Candidate, and Aaron Chapman, Freedom Now Party candidate in San Francisco.

For more information write Committee for Independent Political Action, 2333 Fulton Street, Berkeley, Calif.

The East Coast Conference will be held in New York the weekend before the election, with the first session starting Oct. 31. Speakers include Staughton Lynd, James Shabazz, Farrell Dobbs, and others. For more information, contact Students for DeBerry and Shaw, P.O. Box 205, New York 3, N.Y.

... Congress Kills Medicare

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prevailing wages to poverty levels.

Children there go hungry after the wretched allotment of federal surplus foods for the month has run out. They often cannot go to school for lack of decent clothing and shoes. Poorly dressed wives and mothers, usually living in deteriorating homes, see their health undermined by poor diet and lack of money for medical or dental care. Men — often highly skilled miners — are forced to compete for an inadequate number of jobs in scab coal mines where the wages are a pittance and working and safety conditions deplorable.

But to the members of Congress, who gets \$22,500 a year plus fringe benefits bringing the total well over \$40,000 (plus unrecorded under-the-table payments, from you-know-who), the people of Appalachia can just wait till the 89th Congress comes into office and maybe decides to pass the appropriation bill.

The liberal papers and politicians, ignoring Johnson's praise of the 88th Congress, deplore the death of Medicare as a blow to Johnson. This is dubious. The Democratic Party has a majority of 67 to 33 in the Senate and 257 to 177 in the House. Had Johnson threatened to deprive recalcitrant Democrats of patronage (jobs to distribute, pork-barrel bills for their home areas, etc.) and threatened to denounce them during their campaigns for re-election, he could have forced the bill through in a jiffy.

But he prefers to use the bill as a vote-getting, political football. There is considerable mileage

View From a Painter's Ladder

Picture of a Union Bureaucrat

By Bernie Stanton

The conquests made in the past by the trade unions, the primary organizations of the workers for their economic protection and advancement, are being jeopardized by bureaucracies which have usurped control from the membership. While any union is better than no union, it will take a virtual revolution in most unions to again make them truly representative of the members and as militant as they should be to fulfill their purpose. That understood, let's examine the trade-union bureaucrat as he is found in the year 1964 in America.

The union bureaucrat has been called by many names, all of them accurate: labor skate, labor faker, labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, etc. Also feudalistic terms have been applied, like labor lords, trade-union czars, etc. For our purpose they can all be congealed in the simple term, the *bureaucrat*.

Union-Set-up

The set-up in the skilled craft unions today is basically the same as 50 years ago. There is the national Brotherhood, the autonomous district councils, and the member locals of the district councils. The headquarters of the national Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators is located in Lafayette, Indiana, where reside the union overlords, the reigning potentates, from whose edicts there is no appeal.

On the lower level is the city district council. Its ruling clique is usually headed by the secretary-treasurer, and the local lords are called business representatives or business agents.

It is difficult for one not directly involved in union struggles to appreciate the enormous power and privileges of this ruling bureaucracy. If livelihood and life are equated, then the bureaucracy controls the lives of the union members. For it can determine who works and who doesn't, as well as who gets the favored jobs and



who does the dirty work. A rank-and-filer knows how he stands by whether the bureaucrat deigns to smile at him at the local meeting.

Karl Marx once said something to the effect that in periods of reaction all the old crap comes to the fore. How true this is today in the trade-union movement! The crudest and the most mediocre are in the leading positions. One need but think of the highest office in the AFL-CIO occupied by the intellectual nincompoop and nonentity, George Meany, who once boasted that he never walked a picket line in his life. But let's take a bird's eye view of a local ruled of a craft union at work in his little kingdom.

A scene at a local painter's meeting: The business agent is presiding since he is also the local president and chairman. He murmurs something incomprehensible to open the meeting, the minutes of the previous meeting are read and approved, the correspondence is read and filed, when the district council minutes are available they are read and approved, a motion to adjourn is made and carried, and the meeting is over. Time: ten minutes flat!

This is the ideal meeting for the local bureaucrat because for a

few minutes' work he earns \$200 a week plus \$50 expenses plus a new car every two years plus. In many cases the "take" equals the salary. The average union member has to travel an hour for such a ten-minute meeting, which is deliberately designed to discourage attendance by its dull, cut-and-dried atmosphere. There is nothing less inviting. So they stay away from the meetings in droves. Occasionally the bureaucrat, tongue in cheek, berates the membership for not attending meetings.

But every so often a fly appears in the ointment, disturbing the tranquillity of bureaucratic existence. This irritant takes the form of anyone who in any way criticizes the local or city bureaucracy. The fury visited upon the critic by the bureaucrat and his stooges is enough to make the stoutest heart quake.

A few examples of the bureaucrat at work when someone dares raise his voice in criticism:

The critic takes the floor under the Good-and-Welfare point on the meeting's agenda. He speaks about the organizing drive the Union is supposed to be undertaking. He makes several constructive proposals. The membership should be mobilized. Notices should be mailed for special meetings to plan the drive. The most active organizers and pickets should be rewarded by getting the stewardships of the newly organized shops, as used to be traditional.

The bureaucrat interrupts again and again at will, heckling and baiting. Finally the critic protests, "Who are you to determine what is right or wrong? Let the membership decide." The bureaucrat replies: "I am the law here." This is pretty close to what the French kings used to say before the Revolution.

Next week we'll give some more scenes from local meetings, going a little more from the general to the specific.

...GM Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

speed-up grievances were filed in the first week of production of the new models as the company took advantage of changes to increase work loads. None of these grievances was settled before the strike began, and the workers expressed willingness to stay out until they were settled.

This issue has recurred every year at the assembly plants. More often than not, the UAW national leaders have refused to authorize strikes or give effective backing to local resistance to speed-up. This pattern has been almost uninterrupted in GM production plants since Reuther became head of the union's GM department before World War II.

At Chrysler, Reuther continued the same pattern this year, agreeing to a drastic cut in the number of full-time committeemen there. But the pressure had been building up at GM where local officials have been begging Reuther to get them off the hook by consenting to a national strike.

These local officials, however, are not consistent or independent militants and have no national caucus which could lead the rank and file in a struggle for really important gains over Reuther's opposition. With the national settlement, which sets the major pattern on working conditions without resolving some 16,000 local grievances, Reuther has in fact greatly weakened the bargaining power of the locals on these grievances.

That the strike occurred at all, however, was upsetting to those who realize the class significance of such actions. Probably the most philosophical reaction among these circles came from the *New York Times*, which said of Reuther's strategy: "Letting the members blow off steam by a relatively brief walkout is undoubtedly less damaging to the national economy than a rank-and-file insurrection that might drag on for many weeks, with the union high command powerless to check it."

ACLU Challenges State Dep't Ban On Cuba Travel

The American Civil Liberties Union has challenged a U.S. State Department curtailment of the right to travel. The case involves refusal to issue a passport to Frances Kissling, a student at the New School for Social Research, unless she signs an affidavit that she does not intend to visit Cuba.

Miss Kissling applied for a passport last June. Since she was a week under 21 at the time, the application required her parents' approval. Her father refused and notified the State Department that his daughter intended to visit Cuba. The State Department has since then refused to issue her a passport unless she signs the restricting affidavit.

The ACLU-supported complaint in the federal district court declared: "There is no statutory authority under which [the State Department] was empowered to proscribe a citizen's right to travel to and in Cuba . . . the refusal to issue a passport to Miss Kissling except on the execution of the affidavit . . . was arbitrary and unreasonable, and without any authority in law, a denial of due process of law and of her right of freedom to travel."

The civil liberties organization further noted that as a native-born American citizen Miss Kissling has a right under the First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to travel outside the U.S.

Fall Issue International Socialist Review

The Labor Bureaucrats and the 'White Backlash' by Tom Kerry. Why the labor officialdom kowtowing to the Democratic Party can't cope with the so-called "backlash."

An Open Letter to Gerry Healy: The Man on the Flying Trapeze by Peng Shu-tse. Opportunism and impressionism are exposed as the central characteristics of Healy, head of the British Socialist Labor League, who broke with the Fourth International.

Radicalism: Black and White — The NAACP and the Communist Party by Robert Vernon. Reviewing the recent book by Wilson Record, Vernon traces the zig-zag course of the CP, outlines the role of the NAACP in the Negro struggle, contrasting both with the emergent forces of black nationalism.

Popular Frontism in Ceylon by Ernest Germain. A detailed analysis of why the principal leaders of the Ceylonese Trotskyists abandoned their revolutionary principles and entered the capitalist Bandaranaike government.

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Monday, October 12, 1964

Seeking a Vietnam 'Incident'?

The official claim that this country's foreign policy is guided by morality is the fairy tale of the century. The Tonkin Gulf "crises" are a striking illustration. The cynical calculations behind those "mysterious" naval clashes were exposed in remarkably plain language by James Reston, an associate editor of the *New York Times*.

Washington officials, Reston reported in his Oct. 2 column, are openly discussing "how easy it would be to 'provoke an incident' in the Gulf of Tonkin that would justify an attack on North Vietnam." Reston and others further report that the Johnson administration is reviewing its Vietnam policy and that "expanding the war" is being seriously considered as a solution for the rapidly failing intervention in South Vietnam.

Reston obviously fears that even on the eve of elections there is a real danger the men in Washington may decide on what Johnson calls the "last resort." He desperately asks for assurance that U.S. ships are not being kept in the Tonkin Gulf "to 'provoke an incident' that might expand the war."

Politicians of both capitalist parties are deeply involved in the discussions and machinations going on behind closed doors. Meanwhile, the common people have absolutely no political vehicle through which to express their opposition to the danger of war. What the American working people need is their own political party; they must break with the present two-party system that serves only the imperialist corporations and banks.

The Gutter Press at Work

The front-page headline of the Oct. 5 *New York Daily News*, the paper with the largest circulation in the country, read: "TIMES SQUARE CROWD IGNORES KNIFING."

The story began: "In the view of hundreds of persons who stood by, a 28-year-old man was repeatedly stabbed yesterday afternoon by a burly Negro who had tried to force his attentions on the victim's attractive red-haired wife in Times Square."

The story further told how Joseph Zaia and his wife, Sandra, "were strolling along Broadway when the Negro, standing well over six feet, emerged from the crowd and placed his arm around the woman drawing her to him. Apparently drunk, he whispered to her: 'Come with me, baby, I want to talk to you.'"

"Zaia, saying the woman was his wife, tried to push the intruder away. The assailant then drew a knife and started stabbing Zaia . . ."

"A spectator noticed that the attacker's hand was covered with blood. It was not known whether he had cut himself during the fight. The fugitive was reportedly in the early 30s."

The story was not unusual for this particular gutter sheet. It offered it the opportunity to combine its favorite journalistic ingredients — violence, sex and anti-Negro bigotry.

This particular anti-Negro hack job misfired, however, when the woman finally admitted to the police that she was a liar. The assailant was not a Negro.

Her husband, she confessed, had been attacked by a former boy friend of hers. On the spur of the moment, while he was laying in a pool of blood, they quickly decided to concoct the story about the "Negro" assailant. She dropped her story only after witnesses told cops the attacker was white.

The way the *Daily News* handled this revelation was par for the course. It printed a follow-up article about the woman's story being a lie — it appeared on the bottom of page five and was three inches long.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum, 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available: write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2569. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books. Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N. E. Library, book stor. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

How to Fight Ultra-Right

Why Johnson Is No Answer to Goldwater

By Fred Halstead

Why do revolutionary socialists reject the idea of voting for Lyndon B. Johnson as a "lesser evil" than Barry Goldwater, and as the best thing to do in this election to stop the ultra-right? At issue here is not the need for stopping Goldwater and the ultra-rightists who are grouped around him along with those fascist elements seeking cover from him. The question is *how* to stop them.

The Socialist Workers Party has been warning about the danger of the ultra-right in this country for many years and advancing a program to fight it. The danger is more acute today than before, but the causes for the danger are the same today as they were when the ultra-right growth began years ago.

The growth of the ultra right in this country is the product, essentially, of three things. 1) It is a product of the cold war, Washington's imperialist, racist, foreign policy — a bi-partisan foreign policy authored by both Democrats and Republicans.

2) It is a product of the witch-hunt against left-wing views opposed to that foreign policy, a witch-hunt flowing directly from the cold war.

3) It is a product of the entrapment for years of most of the left, the labor movement, the civil-rights movement and other progressive forces in this country within the capitalist parties, which are completely controlled by those who profit from imperialism, and the consequent failure of the progressive forces to offer the people a political alternative to the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Where It Began

The ultra-right has been growing since the post-war witch hunt began — and that began — remember — under Democratic President Harry S. Truman with the Truman Doctrine, the opening of the cold war, and the decree on the "subversive" list.

It developed into a runaway witch hunt — which produced the first widespread growth of the ultra right under Senator Joseph McCarthy — in the atmosphere of U.S. intervention in Korea. That war, remember, also began under a Democratic Party administration, with full support of the Republicans — liberal or otherwise. Left-wing forces within the unions were hounded and decimated by an extension of the same witch hunt, and this process was instigated by a Democratic Party ad-



Goldwater

ministration, again with full Republican support.

To oppose the drift toward the ultra right in this country, it is necessary to oppose the cold war. It is necessary to oppose the imperialist foreign policy which gave us Korea, the current war in Vietnam, the intervention in the Congo, and the frightening growth of the CIA. It is necessary to oppose the setting up of stand-by concentration camps and all the other police-state measures.

That can't be done by supporting the very politicians who start witch hunts, who organize the imperialist adventures, who build the police-state apparatus, who feed the anti-communist paranoia on which the ultra right flourishes.

Since the Democratic convention, many liberals, and even radicals have said: "Well, at least we got Humphrey as vice-presidential candidate, and that ought to be some sort of insurance against this madness." But it is nothing of the kind. Humphrey authored the section of the McCarran Act setting up the stand-by concentration camps. He is a perfect example of what liberal capitalist politicians are in this epoch. They will continue to pave the way for the ultra right as they have already done. The fact that there is very little organized opposition to them on the left assures that they will continue to do so.

A Johnson and a Humphrey couldn't go as far to the right as they have, and as they are going to go, if everyone in this country who considered himself to be on the side of the working class against the capitalists, who opposed the cold war, the witch

hunt, racism, colonialism, would vote against them and start to build some independent political power which is not controlled by those who profit from these evils.

"But," say the proponents of a lesser-evil vote, "considering the threat of nuclear destruction, isn't it better to have a 'responsible' capitalist politician like Johnson in charge, than a wild capitalist politician like Goldwater?"

Trust Ike?

Dwight D. Eisenhower gave the appearance of being one of the more "responsible" capitalist politicians. One would assume his finger could be trusted on the nuclear war button at least as much as Johnson's. (After all, Eisenhower didn't actually go in and bomb North Vietnam.) But what did Eisenhower, the "responsible" capitalist politician, do in the Republican Party to stop Goldwater? He paved the way for him.

Similarly with Johnson and Humphrey. They are perfectly capable of appointing ultra rightists to key positions in the interest of "national unity" in an imperialist adventure. And if there is no opposition from labor, the civil-rights movement, the left, to stop the drift to the right, Johnson, Humphrey and their ilk will pave the way for the assumption of power by the ultra right.

If there is no hope for this country other than electing a Johnson to stop a Goldwater, then it is doomed to fall to the ultra right, and the world is doomed to a nuclear war. Because Johnson is no roadblock to the ultra right at all. The Johnsons are paving the way.

The only roadblock to the continued growth of the ultra right is the building of a political alternative on the left. The more effort put into that and the sooner, the more hope there is.

When Is Time?

The argument is raised that now is not the time to take a step in the direction of independent political action. Now is not the time, we are told, to take energies away from supporting "lesser-evil" Johnson in order to educate and unite forces around the principle of independent political action, to prepare for future elections and future struggles.

When is the time? If this is not the time, there never will be a time, because there is always the choice of a "lesser-evil."

There is no sizeable opposition on the left in this election, but that need not have been. It need not be so in the future, but if it is not to be so, the principle of independent working-class political action must be fought for now. The fact that this principle has not been fought for by most of the left is a key factor in the growth of the ultra right.

Steady Drift

Since the war there has been a steady drift to the right, accompanied by a steady decrease in the political influence of the labor movement. It should be recalled that in 1960, the proponents of the lesser-evil theory were devoting their energies to exposing the racist, conservative record of Lyndon B. Johnson, and insisting that progressive forces in the country had to work within the Democratic Party to help make sure that he did not win the Democratic nomination. At that time, Kennedy was the lesser evil, and the drive to beat Johnson, the "overriding issue."

The greater evil of yesterday has become the lesser evil of today. So it will be tomorrow. Indeed Nixon and Rockefeller were being cheered on by some as lesser evils to Goldwater. We may yet see Goldwater considered the lesser evil to some more rabid capitalist politician, if there is no alternative built on the left.

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DeBERRY AND SHAW ON NATIONAL TOURS

Chicagoans Hear DeBerry in Symposium

By Robert Hill

CHICAGO — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, Al Raby, chairman of the Freedom Democratic Clubs of Illinois, and Lawrence Landry, national chairman of ACT, participated in a Oct. 3 symposium on the election campaign at the University of Chicago. DeBerry advocated independent political action and the other two speakers supported Johnson as the "lesser evil."

DeBerry pointed out that the Emancipation Proclamation is over 100 years old, and during that span of time both the Democrats and Republicans have been in office. But neither of the two capitalist parties has used its power to enforce the supposedly guaranteed rights of the Negro people. "In view of their past record," he asked, "how can we expect either the Democrats or the Republicans to enforce the recently passed Civil Rights Bill?"

"The Southern racist Dixiecrats are in the same party with President Johnson and the Northern liberal Democrats," DeBerry pointed out. He reviewed Johnson's past record, which includes opposition to a Fair Employment Practices bill and anti-lynching laws. No less a racist than Senator Eastland, he noted, once praised Johnson for his record of opposition to civil-rights legislation.

No Difference

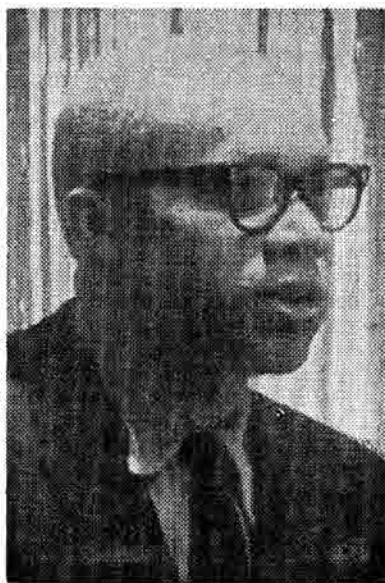
DeBerry stated that there is no difference between the two parties on foreign policy either. Both parties have been in power, and the same bi-partisan foreign policy has been carried out. Johnson recently revealed his readiness to escalate the war in Vietnam — with Goldwater in full accord.

In conclusion, DeBerry pointed to the Freedom Now Party as an example of the way to oppose the two-party system.

Al Raby began his talk by saying, "It would be foolish to contradict any of the statements Mr. DeBerry has outlined." But, he continued, "I am fearful that if Mr. Goldwater is elected he will carry out an even more aggressive policy in Vietnam . . . and that the question will change from whether colonialism will go on to how many will survive the war." He asserted that "though one cannot support Johnson, one must come out in opposition to Goldwater." If Johnson won by a small margin, he added, his policies would become more like Goldwater's. For that reason, Raby announced his intention to work for the election of Johnson by a large majority.

Miss. Party

Raby talked about the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. Instead of trying to build an independent political party, he said, "the Freedom Democratic Party is trying to subvert and trying to



Clifton DeBerry

convert the only political entity that exists in Mississippi." However, he went on to admit that he was certain that whether Johnson or Goldwater was elected, an attempt will be made to destroy the Freedom Democratic Party.

He concluded by stating that the Freedom Democratic Clubs in Illinois hoped to be able, in 1968, to influence not the election but the selection of Democratic Party candidates in Chicago.

Lawrence Landry of ACT began by saying, "Johnson has made clear to the American people how conservative John F. Kennedy really was." He said that Johnson's anti-poverty program "doesn't apply to his wife's plantation." But, he added, "Goldwater took over the Republican Party by doing what we should do . . . What is now going on in the Republican Party is realignment. But the problem is that no comparable realignment is going on in the Democratic Party."

State Elections

Referring to the state elections, Landry said that he had intended to support Percy, the Republican candidate for governor, because he was "more honest" than Kerner, the Democratic candidate. But he charged that Daley, the Democratic mayor of Chicago whom the

more militant civil-rights groups despise, is trying to dump Kerner. Therefore Landry is supporting Kerner in order to oppose Daley.

Landry said that he had been planning to vote against the Democratic candidate for state attorney because he had used his position to intimidate Negro parents during the second of Chicago's school boycotts last year. But such a protest vote was now ruled out because the Republican candidate for state attorney had recently declared that he would have arrested the school-boycott leaders.

Asked whether he was not helping Goldwater since most of the votes he would attract would otherwise go to Johnson, DeBerry replied that he was running against both candidates and was the only candidate fundamentally opposed to Goldwater as well as to Johnson. When asked if he was not making the same mistake that was made in Germany, DeBerry pointed out that it was precisely the theory of choosing the "lesser of two evils" that misled many German socialists into supporting Hindenburg, who appointed Hitler his Chancellor.

Shorter Work Week

To a question about how he proposed to finance a shorter work week with no reduction in pay and a \$2 minimum wage, the socialist presidential candidate replied that he would use funds now being poured into the arms budget, and that the corporations could afford a shorter work week which would restore the jobs automation is destroying.

In his summary, DeBerry pointed out that there must be a distinction made between the problems of the South and the problems of the North. In the South, Negroes are struggling for the right to vote; in the North, they don't have anybody to vote for.

"The Democratic Party in Chicago," DeBerry concluded, "has a history, too. This history includes such things as the race riots in Trumbull Park and Calumet Park. At some point you have to choose sides and let anyone who says he is for the Negro people know that he has no business in that party."

Shaw in Lively West Coast Tour

Edward Shaw, SWP Vice Presidential nominee, was in Berkeley on the Western leg of his tour during the recent student demonstration (see p. 8). At this demonstration he addressed the largest audience so far — the 2,500 students gathered around the captured police car. Shaw was invited to climb atop the cop car, which was being used by leaders of the student demonstration as a speaker's platform, and from there he

spoke for five minutes. He expressed his solidarity with the demonstrators.

He had earlier made a campaign speech before a lively meeting on the campus.

"The New York Times has a long-standing tradition of standing by its own people," the Sept. 30 San Francisco Chronicle quoted Shaw as saying. "But they put it aside in my case and failed to endorse me."

"Of course, the fact that I'm running for Vice President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket might have had some bearing on that."

The Chronicle, which covered Shaw's press conference at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, wrote: "Immediate good nature and long-range hope characterize this articulate, 40-year-old Times printer."

Before he arrived in the Bay Area, Shaw was in San Diego and Los Angeles. At San Diego State College he spoke before an audience of 150. Another speech by Shaw was reported by the Independent, San Diego Negro newspaper, under the banner headline: "Negro Urged to Bolt Demos, GOP." The meeting was sponsored by the San Diego Labor Forum. Shaw was also interviewed over a local television station.

In Los Angeles, Shaw debated a member of the Young Democrats and spoke to a meeting at the Militant Labor Forum.

SCEF Files High-Court Brief Against La. "Anti-Red" Law

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Louisiana law against subversive activities is a threat to every person and group working for civil rights for Negroes in that state.

This is one of the main points made by a group of Negro and white attorneys in a brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans.

They are appealing refusal of a three-judge federal court in Louisiana to stop state prosecution of James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, and Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer.

Smith's law partner, Bruce Waltzer, is also charged under the law, which carries a penalty of ten years in prison. The three were arrested last October after raids on their homes and offices.

The raids and arrests were made by city and state police at the request of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. The state legislature has since cut the committee's funds from \$60,000 to \$10,000 a year.

SCEF's brief states that the Louisiana law is designed and used "as an instrument in that state's many-facet efforts to maintain segregation as Louisiana's way of life."

It also charges that the law is intended "to repress the efforts of Negro and white citizens to achieve the equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the United States."

It is noted that SCEF has been working for many years to involve Southern whites in the movement for equal rights for all citizens. SCEF also publishes *The Southern Patriot*, which reports on integration activities throughout the South.

SCEF's attorneys charge that Louisiana's definition of a "subversive organization" is so vague that it is "a dragnet sweeping into its orbit all organizations and persons seeking equal rights for Negro citizens."

They point out that this has



James Dombrowski

already happened to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin L. King Jr., and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), both based in Atlanta. Both groups were attacked by the Louisiana committee for cooperating with SCEF to end segregation.

The SCEF attorneys also say that the Louisiana law is invalid because the federal government alone has the power to prosecute for so-called subversive activities.

Their brief notes that the U.S. Supreme Court barred state prosecution in a case from Pennsylvania in 1956. Since then several state have halted such prosecution on the basis of the Pennsylvania decision. One such case in Kentucky involved seven workers for integration.

The NAACP, National Lawyers Guild, and American Civil Liberties Union are also filing briefs asking that the law be declared unconstitutional. Oral arguments before the Supreme Court are expected in November.

... Violence in Mississippi

(Continued from Page 1)

rights movement and to induce a federal declaration of martial law in the county.

Mrs. Quin is an outstanding figure in the struggle in McComb. A field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee described her as follows: "Everyone loves Mama Quin. She owns a popular cafe. She is kind and good to everyone. But more than that, she is a towering figure of strength. She can't be intimidated."

"Three years ago she was one of the first to welcome [Bob] Moses and lend him and the SNCC workers her support. Her cafe has always been open — despite the threats. And this summer, again she leads the community. She serves black and white, night after night. And the pressure increases. Threats. The police raid her place twice — the first time they plant a bottle of whiskey and it costs her \$150 . . . Finally, they succeed in making Mama Quin close her cafe . . ."

Despite the reign of terror against Negroes in Mississippi, it is not generally realized that a police state exists there.

That it does was well illustrated by the experience of civil-rights volunteer Ursula Junk, a German girl who has been staying with Mrs. Quin and her family. When she was arrested and told she was charged with disorderly conduct, Ursula told the police, "I have a right to call my embassy and have them provide a lawyer for me." A policeman replied: "When you enter Mississippi you ain't got no more rights. Didn't you know that?" She answered: "I had

heard about that but didn't know it could be true."

The German girl was then grilled by a group of plainclothesmen and police. According to a SNCC report of Sept. 22, she was engaged. She replied no. "Did she date niggers?" Her answer was: "I go out with people." "You mean white people or niggers?" Her answer: "I go out with people." "Then there followed a long period of time when Ursula's investigators tried to insinuate she was a prostitute. For example, they said they would have to give her a medical checkup and asked did she have any venereal diseases."

After this "interrogation," she was turned over to FBI agent Murphy for an hour. "After Murphy established that Ursula was Catholic he said: 'But you didn't go to church last Sunday.' 'Yes,' she said, 'I went to church with one of the Negro workers.' 'You offended the whole community . . . it was the feeling of the community that you came to church in order to demonstrate . . . and you still wonder what the reasons for the bombings were? The reason was you offended the community. Don't you see the connection? Church bombings and Mrs. Quin's house.'"

Midwest Rally in Detroit On Independent Political Action

Clifton DeBerry

James Shabazz

Speakers:

Rev. Albert Cleage

Edward Shaw

Barry Sheppard

Sat. Oct. 24 7:30 p.m.

Central Congregational Church
Linwood and Hogarth

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
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New York 3, N. Y.

Mich. FNP Works to Oust Racist Prosecutor

Henry Cleage in Olsen-Must-Go Campaign

By Robert Fink

Michigan SWP candidate for Attorney General

DETROIT — This year's contest for Wayne County Prosecutor is between Democratic incumbent Samuel Olsen, Republican William H. Ferguson, and Freedom Now Party candidate Henry W. Cleage.

Olsen won in the Sept. 1 Democratic primaries by a slim margin over Joe B. Sullivan. Before the primaries, both Negro and labor leaders felt pressed to take a position on the race. This is because Olsen is one of the crudest racist types in the city administration. As prosecutor, he has time after time white-washed racist killer cops without even a pretense of a decent investigation. In the primary campaign he favored the notoriously racist "home-owner's" ordinance. And recently he issued a report on juvenile delinquency whose proposals make one's flesh creep. It was right out of the witch-burning, whipping-post era. Its orientation was clearly anti-Negro.

Two years ago the AFL-CIO took a "no-endorsement" position when Olsen and Sullivan ran in the primaries. Since then the pressure of the civil-rights movement has been so hard and heavy that even labor bureaucrats can feel it. So in this year's primaries the AFL-CIO endorsed Sullivan.

Horace Sheffield, a leading member of the Trade Union Leadership Council and a columnist for the *Michigan Chronicle*, wrote

a column headed: "Al Barbour Comes Through Like a Trooper." Al Barbour is the president of the Michigan AFL-CIO.

Sheffield wrote: "It was Barbour's masterful and moving presentation, ably backed up by the UAW's articulate Ken Morris, that secured the endorsement, by a comfortable margin, for Joe B. Sullivan . . . Not since the old CIO days had a bunch of 'working stiffs' been treated to such eloquence on brotherhood . . ."

There must be some pretty backward AFL-CIO Council members if they needed "such eloquence" to make them oppose a racist like Olsen.

The NAACP also opposed Olsen in the primaries.

But Olsen won in the primaries. So now the only candidate for prosecutor who is for civil rights and liberties is Henry W. Cleage, running for the Freedom Now Party.

In an interview on the very issue which sparks opposition to Olsen, Cleage expressed his intention to wage a struggle against all police brutality and promised to issue warrants for the arrest of any cops who violate the rights of citizens, Negro or white.

Cleage and the Freedom Now Party are starting an "Olsen-Must-Go" campaign. Stickers will be available at their headquarters at 5028 Joy Road and 5385 Lovett.

The Socialist Workers Party has endorsed Henry W. Cleage for Wayne County Prosecutor.

It will be interesting to see

what the labor leaders, conservative Negro leaders, and Horace Sheffield do now. Their most likely dodge to protect their already-decided pro-Democratic Party and anti-independent-politics policy is to quietly sneak into a "no-endorsement" position. If they claim — and they will — that Cleage is not worth endorsing because "he can't win anyway," they will be hard put to explain the "winning-ness" of a "no-endorsement" policy.

Besides, they should already know what people think of a "no-endorsement" position. A "faithful reader" of Sheffield's column wrote him before the primaries about a group of Negro ministers. She wanted to know "how a group of ministers, who say they're concerned about the Negro's welfare in this community, could make endorsements for political office and fail to take any position in the election for Wayne County Prosecutor . . . it seems strange to me that they would remain so silent on a race that directly affects the total Negro community so critically . . ."

Dear "faithful reader:" It isn't so strange once you understand that these men haven't the backbone to stand up to the opposition which a truly independent political fight for labor and civil rights would bring down upon them. They understood the risk they were running by endorsing anyone but Olsen in the primaries. They couldn't avoid it then and now they're on a spot.

SWP in Mass. Criticizes Day For Endorsement of Johnson

BOSTON — The Socialist Workers Party of Massachusetts, which is supporting independent Negro candidate Noel Day in his race for Congress, issued a statement Oct. 5 explaining its differences with Day over support to Johnson. Day is running against Democratic incumbent John W. McCormack in the Ninth Congressional District. The SWP said:

"Noel Day, Negro civil-rights leader in Boston, is running as an independent candidate for Congress against Speaker of the House John W. McCormack. In doing so, he offers the Negro people of his district an alternative to the entrenched power of oppression represented by McCormack, who is a Democrat.

"Recently Day made a statement supporting President Johnson. This is in direct contradiction to the meaning of his campaign as an action independent of, and opposed to, the two capitalist parties.

"In his statement, Day said, 'More riots, by both Negroes and whites, will occur in Northern cities if Senator Goldwater is elected in November . . . Only a program that will try to meet the desperate needs of the American people for more jobs, decent housing, medical care and quality education can prevent riots and other forms of disenchantment. At this point only President Johnson offers even a chance for this kind of program. Only Johnson's program offers a chance to prevent future riots. Because I am concerned with preventing riots and including all citizens in the nation's prosperity, I will support President Johnson.'

"Recently Noel Day attacked the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam as a provocation. It was Johnson who initiated this attack.

"On July 19, Day charged that Johnson's policy in Mississippi would increase violence. He said at that time, 'The administration's profession of faith in them [the racist Southern police] is not at all different from Senator Goldwater's belief in states' rights and dependence on local authorities for civil-rights enforcement.'

"Day attacked McCormack for failing to challenge two weakening clauses in the phony 'war-on-poverty' bill; but Johnson did not oppose those clauses either.

"Now Noel Day has contradicted himself by supporting the man who stands for these policies which Day previously attacked.

"McCormack represents Democratic Party racism in the North. The Democratic Party preserves the conditions of poverty and racial oppression which caused the social upheavals in the Negro ghettos. McCormack stands for the same party, program and policies as his leader, President Johnson. In fact, McCormack is next in line to the presidency if Johnson should die before January. Day cannot justify his campaign against McCormack if he continues to support McCormack's political godfather, Johnson.

Negro Area

"About 59 per cent of all the Negroes in Massachusetts live in the Ninth District where Noel Day is running. Every day they feel the results of Johnson's administration. But unfortunately Noel Day's campaign has been too much influenced by white liberals — timid 'independents' too much in need of 'respectability' in the eyes of the capitalist power structure. Day should base his campaign solely on the needs of the Negroes and other workers in his district, and not succumb to the pressures of white liberals to support Johnson.

"The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party is supporting the election of Noel Day because his campaign is a step in the direction of political action by Negroes against both the Democratic and Republican Parties. These parties



Noel Day

and their spokesmen represent the forces of oppression against the Negroes and the working people as a whole.

"Noel Day's candidacy against McCormack, the Democrat, is a recognition of this fact. His support of Johnson, however, contradicts the essence of his campaign. It can only confuse his supporters into thinking that the Democratic Party's national figure, Johnson, is basically different from its local image, McCormack, whom they oppose. We hope that Noel Day will see this mistake and withdraw his support of Johnson."

Dunne Analyzes Farmers' Action At Minn. Forum

MINNEAPOLIS — V. R. Dunne, Minnesota State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strikes, spoke at the Friday Night Socialist Forum here Oct. 2 on "Why Workers and Farmers Should Support the National Farmers Organization Holding Action."

The NFO had been conducting a militant holding action of livestock in 23 states since Aug. 19. A "temporary halt" was called Oct. 1 by NFO leaders, allegedly to give time for contract talks to take place.

Dunne cited figures from the polling service of the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* to show that 80 per cent of the workers in Minnesota think farmers should have an organization such as the NFO. He cited this as evidence that the workers remember the days in Minnesota when the workers and farmers were strong allies — the days of the Farmer-Labor Party in the 1930s.

As an example of this alliance, Dunne described the agreement during the 1934 Teamsters' strike, between Local 574 and the Market Gardener's Association, an organization of small truck farmers. The strikers and farmers then set up a new market, where the farmers could sell their produce. In this way the farmers and strikers worked together as allies to their mutual benefit. Farmers supported the strike to the extent of donating large quantities of food to the strike commissary.

In view of this history, Dunne termed criminal the present silence of the union tops about the NFO's militant struggle. This he said can only be ascribed to their unwillingness to rock the boat for Johnson and the Democratic administration.

The task now, he said, is for workers and farmers to hark back to the lessons of the 1930s and build an independent political organization to solve their common problems.

World Events

Venezuela Rebels Active

Venezuelan guerrillas of the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) on Sept. 23 briefly took Siquipe, a small town only 14 miles from Caracas, the capital. The guerrillas held a meeting in the town square, denounced the pro-U.S. government and appealed for the support of the population.

A Sept. 26 AP dispatch from Caracas reported that there had been six similar guerrilla actions in six days.

Solidarity With Cuba

A message of solidarity was sent recently to Cuba from underground freedom fighters in the Portuguese East African colony of Mozambique. It was signed by the Central Committee of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)

and is a testament to the deep-going influence of the Cuban Revolution throughout the colonial world. The message said in part:

"The anti-imperialist struggle led by the people of Cuba, mainly against North American imperialism, is a struggle against imperialism in Africa and all over the world.

"It is international imperialism, headed by the U.S.A., which supplies arms to Portugal which are used to murder our brothers in Mozambique, Angola, and 'Portuguese' Guinea. It is due to the help given by the imperialist countries through NATO that Portugal is able to prepare for war in Mozambique, where she has already introduced many implements of destruction and an army of more than 35,000 men equipped and armed to the teeth."

Unity Step in Japan

The two biggest sectors of the Japanese Trotskyist movement have recently joined in a united effort for publishing a bi-monthly theoretical magazine called *Fourth International*. The first two issues included articles on the maturing revolutionary situation in Korea, the present stage of restoration of Japanese imperialism, the specter of Trotskyism in the Sino-Soviet dispute, the position of the Japanese Communist Party in that dispute, and several articles on Japanese politics.

The second issue also offered readers a full report on the situation facing the Ceylonese Trotskyists after the capitulation to class collaboration of the former Trotskyist leader N. M. Perera. The third issue, scheduled to appear in September, will contain a series of articles on the Japanese union movement.

Still Rewriting History

Parts of a new official history of the Soviet Union, being prepared by Moscow's Institute of Marxism-Leninism for 1967 — 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, were recently made public. The "new" history denounces

the terror and repressions of the Stalin era but makes no attempt to explain how they could have happened in a "socialist" country.

Collaborators' Property Seized

Algerian authorities on Oct. 1 began a surprise seizure of properties of former collaborators with the French colonialists. Justifying the action in a radio speech, President Ben Bella said the measure was also aimed at "reactionaries, feudal types and agents of neo-colonialism."

Storm Granaries in India

Mass protests against lack of grain and soaring food prices swept India Sept. 27. Seven persons were officially reported killed by police guarding grain stocks. The opposition charged that in one state (Uttar Pradesh) alone 10,000 had been arrested. The newly formed United Socialist party was said to have led protest raids on private granaries. At Parbhani, near Bombay, a crowd beat food officials.

In New Delhi, the capital, 10,000 "untouchables," members of the lowest caste constituting 50 million of India's poorest poor, marched on the parliament Oct. 1 to protest continued discrimination 17 years after independence. They also demanded equal distribution of land, more food, control over prices, and housing construction in slum areas.

U.S. Trade in Asia, Congo

Trade statistics for 1963 reveal some of the reasons why U.S. imperialism is ready to go to war to "defend" Asia and Africa. U.S. trade with 18 Asian countries increased by 13.8 per cent for a year's total of \$7.9 billion. The balance of trade was favorable to the U.S. by \$1.3 billion. In 1963 the U.S. also replaced Belgium as the chief exporter to the Congo, Belgium's former colony. The value of U.S. exports there was \$98.6 million; Belgian exports were \$87.5 million. The third largest exporter to the Congo had a trade worth only \$20 million.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Klan Activity in N. Carolina

New Orleans, La.

To Friends Everywhere:

Ku Klux Klan activity in North Carolina has been rising with the continued increase of voter registration by Negro citizens of that state. The *New York Times* of Sept. 9 says the state now has the largest and strongest Klan organization in 40 years.

Klansmen have been most active in the northeastern part of the state, particularly in Halifax County. This is where John R.

Salter Jr., SCEF field organizer, has been helping Negroes to register and vote.

Crosses are burned in great numbers and Klansmen roam the Negro sections of the cities and towns. Although the robed men threaten Negro leaders, none are ever arrested. Neither have police made any effort to protect Negro cities from possible violence.

Salter and Negro leaders have complained to the mayor of Enfield and the sheriff of Halifax County. They sent copies of their complaints to federal and state officials. There has been no response.

It becomes obvious that nothing will be done by these officials without help from friends elsewhere in the nation.

You are urged to send letters and telegrams demanding an end of this Klan activity, which is in violation of state and federal laws. Address communications to: Harry Branch, Chairman, Halifax County Board of Commissioners, Enfield, N.C. Copies should go to Gov. Terry Sanford, State Capitol, Raleigh, N.C., and to Burke Marshall, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Also please ask your friends to act.

James Dombrowski
Executive Director
Southern Conference
Educational Fund

Liked First Issue

Cincinnati, Ohio

Someone loaned me a copy of the Sept. 7 issue of *The Militant*. I was impressed by two articles especially:

(1) Facts About U.S. Investments in the Congo by F. Charlier.
(2) It's Hard to Outwarmonger a Warmonger by T. Edwards.

On the basis of this first issue I am enclosing \$1 for an introductory subscription.
Keep up the good work!

New Reader

Vietnam Policy

New York, N. Y.

I read in the *New York Times* (Oct. 1) that the administration is again talking about "extending" the war in Vietnam. Why? Because the population of South Vietnam seems to be "a more immediate threat to the United States-backed war effort" than the so-called Viet Cong.

So, in South Vietnam we may go to war because the people there don't support their government. Meanwhile, in Cuba we may go to war because the people do support their government and it can't be overthrown from within.

Those who are inclined to vote for Johnson should think about it. His policy — like Goldwater — is: Defend unpopular, hated pro-capitalist regimes and try to destroy popular anti-capitalist ones.

David Fender

From Across the World

Christchurch, New Zealand

Thank you for sending me sample copies of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. I shall very shortly be sending you my subscription to both. (Just as soon, in fact, as I can save up enough money, as I am very enthusiastic!)

I also plan to order the two bound volumes of past issues of the *ISR* and the book, *The History of American Trotskyism*, which was advertised in the magazine. I also want to order Trotsky's *Stalin School of Falsification* and

the pamphlet, *Trotskyism and Cuban Revolution*.

All of this is by way of advance notice so you will know who the bloke is on the other side of the world who wants Trotskyist literature.

The USS *Enterprise*, the nuclear-armed aircraft carrier, arrives in New Zealand soon to blow the U.S. trumpet and awe the natives — us! If anything of note occurs concerning it I will let you know.

Good luck in the elections.

P.E.P.

See 'The Organizer'

Los Angeles, Calif.

There is a motion picture, *The Organizer*, with Marcello Mastroianni now showing (made in Italy) that can explain socialism and get more recruits to the cause than all the written words. Do advocate it! See it!

A.B.

[We did see this beautiful film about a turn-of-the-century union-organizing drive and strike and in a review in our issue of July 27 we warmly recommended it. EDITOR.]

The Chilean Elections

Detroit, Mich.

The outcome of the Chilean elections was a serious setback for the revolutionary movement in Latin America, not only because of the electoral statistics but because of the lack of preparedness on the Left to utilize the pre-revo-

lutionary situation to organize committees of struggle among the masses. A good index of the disarray of the Chilean Left is the fact that right-wing President Alessandri dared break relations with Cuba just prior to the elections, when mass political awareness should have been at such a height that it would be impossible. Bolivia followed suit almost immediately and, after the elections, Uruguay did too.

Remembering that rupture of diplomatic relations with the U.S. was prelude to invasion of Cuba in 1961, we must be especially wary of these developments. Also, we should take a careful look at the "Mann Plan," uncovered by *Siempre*, a Mexican periodical. According to *Siempre*, this outline of U.S. anti-Cuba strategy included a coup in Uruguay in January, a coup in Brazil in March or April (exactly when it happened), a coup in Chile against Allende's expected victory, isolation of Mexico in the OAS this fall, and an OAS-sponsored "coup" in Cuba in January 1965.

Both in Uruguay in January and Chile this month, preparations for a military insurrection were under way. In Uruguay the government reportedly nipped the coup in the bud, but hushed it up. In both places, a coup proved not to be necessary for the U.S. to have its way. (Mexico was "isolated" in the OAS this summer, ahead of schedule.) Yet the "Plan" has been successful thus far.

After the Chilean elections, President Johnson hailed the last six months as a "developing trend toward political stability in Latin America." In this he includes the coup in Brazil, which at the time he hailed as having been done "within the framework of constitutional democracy and without civil strife."

What would be the ultimate "stability" for Lyndon Johnson? The smashing of Cuba which he and his advisers plot day by day. Johnson boasts that there have been no new Cubas under the Democrats. But — even as he prepares that there be no Cuba at all — the "lesser-evils" say we must vote for him.

Johnson must be made to know that a vocal and growing minority of the American people stand ready to oppose his policy of aggression against the Cuban Revolution. The only way we can let him know now is by rolling up a large protest vote for Clifton DeBerry.

Jan Garrett

Can't Do Without It

Agency, Iowa

I simply can't afford this renewal — but then again I simply can't get along without *The Militant*.

In addition to that, I am assured of better contract with the world, and I can vote for DeBerry with a clear conscience.

M.W.

It Was Reported in the Press

Thomas Plumps for Johnson — In a Sept. 29 speech at St. Peter's College in Jersey City, Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas said he would vote for Johnson this year. The *New York Herald Tribune* report on the speech bore the headline: "Norman Thomas, Democrat." The article reported that Thomas told students that he's for Johnson because he's a "consummate politician and the work he's doing is tremendously important and should not be interrupted." Like the war in Vietnam?

Constitutional Point — A recent "Capital Capsule" in the *San Diego Union* commented: "Bobby Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey block Fifth Avenue while campaigning in New York City. Nobody ever dreamed they'd find Bobby and Hubert taking the fifth."

Egg-Headed Cops — So you think cops are flat-footed, bone-headed ignoramuses? Not so. On Oct. 3 New York cops busted a house party organized by supporters of Mobilization for Youth, the social agency being harassed by red-baiting city politicians and police. The cops claimed liquor was being sold without a license. These cops may have looked dumb. But actually they're quite discerning, intellectual-wise. They told newsmen that the guests at the party were "long-haired pseudo-intellectual beatnik types." Clearly the conversation wasn't up to that of the local station house.

Our Educational System — The following is from a Sept. 30 AP dispatch from Berkeley, Calif.: "Even the best of California's high school graduates are so poorly prepared in English that almost half of them must take a remedial English course when they enter the University of California." But

they have learned something about standing up for their rights. See page 8.

Experienced — Herbert Schmertz, federal mediator in the East Coast Longshore strike, was sent to Saigon recently to help keep the unions there in line. A hotel strike broke out. Said Schmertz: "The prefect of Saigon settled the strike by threatening to arrest the manager. It was efficient but it's not the way we mediate in America." True enough. If anyone gets jailed here, it's the strikers.

Let Junior Learn Russian — The Sept. 30 *New York Herald Tribune* reported: "One problem that plagues modern parents is the question of how much science talk to bat around the dinner table, sort of casual-like, to give junior the idea he'd better study up in a hurry to beat the Russians. The second problem is how do parents know what books to buy to egg him along." This is introductory to disclosing that the American Museum of Natural History which publishes a guide to available science books for young people reports that this year's crop is as "limited and unimaginative as ever."

Transitory Transit Visas — Last week we reported that the Mexican government was questioning Wendell Rollason of Miami on grounds that his "refugee" organization was charging Cubans here \$100 to obtain Mexican transit visas necessary for people who want to leave Cuba and come to the U.S. It was also indicated that Mexican officials were being bribed to issue the visas. Now Rollason and ten others have been jailed in Mexico on charges of forging transit visas.

Waiting Game — Those concerned about Bobby Kennedy being power-hungry should be calmed by his reassurance to a group of New York students that he couldn't realistically get a whack at the presidency for eight more years.

All's Well in India — A headline in the Oct. 1 *New York Times* reported: "India Reports Cholera, Not Food, Killed 38 Pupils." The article reassured that the 38 previously reported to have died after eating food prepared from U.S. Care packages, had simply been the last of a batch of children to succumb to a local cholera outbreak.

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Thought for the Week

"White society is no prize." — Educator Harold Taylor, commenting on the efforts of public schools to instill Negroes and Puerto Ricans with white middle-class values.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"NEWARK, Oct. 6 — We want to stop the cop who thinks that because he has a club, a black-jack or a gun he can push the Negro people around," said Charles Matthews yesterday to the Newark City Council. Matthews, who is campaign director for the Citizens Against Police Brutality, acted as spokesman for the organization in demanding that the Council pass an ordinance which would automatically suspend any policeman against whom a complaint of brutality had been lodged.

"Councilman Bontempo, a former police captain, pleaded, 'Don't interfere with the boys (policemen) or they will be afraid to use their power.'"

"Matthews rejoined: 'We want policemen to be afraid of suspension if they beat people. We are not complaining of the policeman who uses his power but of the cops who abuse their power. Police brutality must be stopped now.'" — Oct. 11, 1954.

20 Years Ago

"A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hurled some sharp shafts at both the Democratic and Republican Parties in his keynote address before the union's Fourth Biennial Convention.

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties are living in a fool's paradise if they believe they have the Negro vote in the bag. The way Negroes vote in the political contest this November will be determined largely by what is done, not what is promised, to make the Fair Employment Practices Commission permanent by federal law, and also what action is taken to abolish segregation and discrimination in the armed forces.

"The stinging insult of Army and Navy discrimination on the basis of race is brought home to voters by mail and by the Negro press, which is widely and carefully read. Negro boys who risk their lives daily for a democracy they do not enjoy are American citizens, voting citizens. They will not forget on election day the fact which yet can be changed, that neither Democrats nor Republicans have campaigned for passage of the FEPC before election.

"Now Congress is adjourning without visible concern for 13 million Negro Americans who face reconversion to peace-time employment as reconversion to prejudice." — Oct. 14, 1944.

Huge Student Protest Rocks U of California at Berkeley

By Lawrence Shumm

BERKELEY, Oct. 3 — A protest involving thousands of students rocked the University of California here for the last three days. The students were protesting attempts by university officials to clamp down on campus political activity. Recently the university issued an arbitrary ruling prohibiting student organizations from soliciting funds, recruiting members or advocating off-campus political action.

Eight students were suspended when they manned literature tables in defiance of the ban. The tables had been set up by various student groups in an area traditionally used by students for political purposes.

On Thursday, Oct. 1, at the request of university officials, police arrested Jack Weinberg, who was sitting at the CORE table. They got Weinberg into a police car but were then surrounded by angry students who would not let the car leave.

This "seizure" grew during the afternoon into a mass sit-down around the captured automobile. A changing crowd of thousands of students became an audience and the car containing the prisoner became a free-speech platform, as student speakers mounted it to address the demonstrators. It was decided to hold the car until Weinberg was released without charges, the eight suspended students were

reinstated and the university agreed to negotiate the issue of the students' basic democratic rights.

That same afternoon a mass sit-in of over 500 students took place on the second floor of Sproul Hall, the administration building, blocking the entrance to the Dean's office.

Friday afternoon found the police car still surrounded by thousands of students, several hundred of them sitting down close to the car.

In the early evening, while student leaders were negotiating with the administration, over 1,000 police were brought in to surround the demonstrators and several square blocks were sealed off. To most people sitting in close to the captured police car it appeared that they were only seconds away from a massive police assault.

This tense situation was suddenly broken by the announcement of an agreement with the university, an agreement which today is only an uneasy truce.

[Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential candidate Edward Shaw spoke from the top of the police car. For an account of this see page 5.]

In the Oct. 3 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, reporter Bob Robertson interviewed some of those arrested and suspended.

Brian Turner was manning a table for SNCC on Tuesday, Sept. 29, when officials asked him if he knew he was "breaking the rules." Turner folded up the table and went home.

"But I thought about it overnight and I went back. When they came up to me again, my own principles prevented me from leaving that table.

"I had decided that the freedom of 27,000 people to speak freely is worth the sacrifice of my own academic career at Cal."

From the interior of his imprisonment in the police car, Jack Weinberg was quoted as saying "This is one of the things you have to do. I don't know why I first joined CORE. One becomes involved with a low degree of commitment. Then one gets an education."

"The person who is forced to choose between two candidates, neither of whom take clear-cut stands or provide a choice, is a frustrated man. A man must become an activist."

Reporter Robertson describes Elizabeth Stapleton, the only girl among the eight suspended students, as "a small, pretty blonde girl, the daughter of a Watsonville apple farmer and realtor . . . Yesterday she was hoarse from speech-making and frantic organizing, but her modest skirt and blouse were still tidy." He quotes her as saying:

"My husband is a radical socialist. I argued with him violently when I first met him, but not any more. Now, I'm a member of the Young Socialist Alliance . . .

"This demonstration is for just one of the broad values in a socialist program — freedom of speech. Of course, I'm amazed at the way it grew from a small incident, but I'm really proud of the students on this campus."

Mario Savio, 21-year-old philosophy student, went to Mississippi last summer on the SNCC project. "Existing in a state of siege down there you come very clearly into contact with the world . . . One becomes very angry. Up here, it's very easy to become isolated from the world — to become part of the middle-class, university-stamped-out product — and let your freedoms slip through your fingers."

"We — those of us here — can't let that happen."

Socialist Nominee Urges N.Y. Board For Policing Cops



Richard Garza in hands-off-Cuba demonstration at UN during 1962 missile crisis.

NEW YORK, Oct. 5 — Richard Garza, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for U.S. Senator, today called for a civilian review board, made up of direct representatives of the neighborhoods involved, to deal with all complaints of police brutality. He said that also he favored the passage of the present bill introduced into the city council by Theodore S. Weiss for a civilian complaint review board, even though it falls short of what minority peoples need in protection and means of redress from the violence of racist cops.

"Passage of the Weiss bill would constitute a first, small step in the right direction," he said. "The cops and politicians don't want to make even this small concession, because it would set a precedent of civilian control of the police," he explained.

"People should have no illusions about what the Weiss bill would accomplish," the socialist senatorial candidate declared. "The powers of the board it would establish would be limited to investigating complaints of police brutality and then advising the mayor and the city council. It would have no power over the police whatsoever."

Mayor's Choice

An even greater limitation of the present bill, in Garza's opinion is that the board would be appointed by the mayor. The mayor already appoints the police commissioner, and controls the police. In reality, the job of a review board appointed by the mayor would be to white-wash the actions of the cops.

In its report on the ghetto disorders of the past summer, the FBI claimed that where there were civilian review boards: "The police were so careful to avoid accusations of improper conduct that they were virtually paralyzed."

"Unfortunately that's not true," commented Garza. "The FBI was just fabricating an argument for the cops to use against any proposals for review boards. In both Rochester and Philadelphia, the two cities involved where there are review boards, those bodies are without any power whatsoever. Nor were the cops there 'paralyzed.' If they had been, there would have been a lot fewer innocent people in both cities with broken heads. Only a review board independent of the power structure will be able to 'paralyze' the cops from attacking Negroes indiscriminately."

Johnson Moves Swiftly To Bar Dockers' Strike

By Dick Roberts

OCT. 6 — When longshoremen walked off the docks Sept. 30, tying up ports from Maine to Texas, President Johnson rushed for a Taft-Hartley injunction. This was "friend-of-labor" Johnson's first use of the hated T-H Act or the slave-labor law, as the unions used to call it, and it was the fastest in history. Within 24 hours of the walkout, a White House directed judge had signed a ten-day temporary order, forcing the longshoremen back to work, until the 70-day "cooling-off" provision went into effect.

This is the sixth time T-H has been used against the 60,000 East Coast and Gulf members of the International Longshoremen's Association. At the height of Wall Street's biggest profit bonanza since the 1920s, the longshore strike raises labor's most urgent demand, job security in the face of automation, the demand which each previous ILA strike has left unresolved.

In the winter of 1962-63, longshoremen struck when companies demanded that work crews be cut from 20 to 17 men; and they remained out 34 days after the expiration of the T-H injunction.

That strike ended when a special congressional committee under Senator Wayne Morse recommended a 24-cents-an-hour wage increase, and established a study commission to come up with long-range solutions to the problem of automation on the docks.

Staved Off

Thus the companies' demands were temporarily staved-off. The strike had cost them upwards of \$800 million, and they decided to wait for the study commission's proposals. These were handed down last Wednesday. They included the same terms the companies had asked for in 1962 — elimination of three members of the work crews — sugar-coated with a 54-cent wage and fringe-benefit package.

To "insure" job security, the commission settlement would guarantee workers 75 per cent of their average earnings over the two-year period of 1963-65. To no one's surprise, the companies accepted the proposals and the longshoremen turned them down.

While it appeared that some

ILA bosses were willing to go along with the settlements, the pressure from rank-and-file longshoremen forced a strike.

The prospect offered by the commission's proposals — 9,000 less jobs to go around, made the dock workers fear the worst: unbridled competition between dock power groups. Just who would get the reduced number of jobs was the big question the commission's proposal left unanswered.

Under the present ILA structure, there are many more union members than can get full employment, and the East Coast longshoremen don't have the protection of a union hiring hall. In addition, hiring procedures vary from port to port.

Parcelled Out

In some places, like the Port of New York, where there are 28,000 dock workers, jobs are parcelled out by the government Waterfront Commission, while in many other places along the coast, company shape-up is still prevalent. This means that job distribution is in the hands of policing outfits like the Waterfront Commission, or ILA leaders in collusion with dock bosses — not in the hands of the longshore rank and file.

To protect their bailiwicks, ILA leaders don't put forward the only demands which could begin to meet waterfront automation — union hiring halls and a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. Democratic rotation of jobs would snuff out their privileges and a shorter work week, spreading employment to the whole union membership, would greatly increase rank-and-file power.

Short of gaining these demands, and faced with the alternatives demanded by the employers and backed up by government mediation, the longshoremen have no choice but to resort to a strike. They will delay job cutting as long as they are able.

But the companies which are investing in expensive shiploading machinery are determined to tame the longshoremen. The likelihood is that they will enlist Congress' support — and like the railroad companies last summer, ask for compulsory arbitration — thus eliminating thousands of jobs by act of Congress.

James Shabazz To Open Boston Forum Series

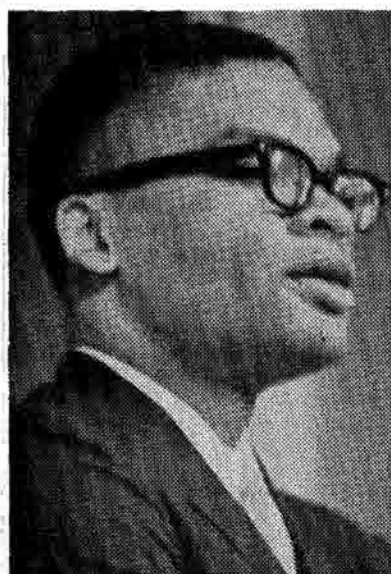
BOSTON — James Shabazz, associate of Malcolm X in the Organization for Afro-American Unity, will be the first speaker at a series of regular Friday night forums to begin here Oct. 16. His subject will be "The Black Revolt in America."

The meeting will be held at the new Militant Labor Forum, Room 307, 295 Huntington Ave., at 8 p.m. Contribution is 75¢.

The new Friday night forum will be the only public forum in the Boston area for the discussion of socialist and other left-wing political views.

Future meetings will feature Edward Shaw, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; Tom Kerry, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, speaking on the Sino-Soviet Dispute; and author Harvey O'Connor, speaking on Oil and the State Department.

Those interested should watch *The Militant's* weekly Calendar for the date, speaker and subject of each meeting.



James Shabazz

Dick Gregory on Rights: "We Want A Dollar's Change for a Dollar"

BOSTON — Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian and tireless civil-rights workers, now on a national fund-raising tour for CORE, told a press conference here Oct. 3 that the civil-rights struggle was "in bad shape."

Passage of the Civil Rights Bill has created a lot of bad feeling, whereas all that had to be done was to have enforced the U.S. Constitution, he said. "We want what white America has. They tried to give us 32 cents change for a dollar, now they want to give us 64 cents change for a dollar. We want a dollar's change for a dollar or that cash register isn't going to ring for anybody. We did not ask for a Civil Rights Bill, we demonstrated for first-class citizenship."

He criticized the press and public officials for their treatment of the Harlem and Rochester outbreaks. "The world knows," he declared, "that if the Russian people had demonstrated and even rioted in Moscow for their freedom, the United States would have cheered it. But when it happens in Harlem they call it hoodlumism."



Dick Gregory